

Message Text

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ACTION H-03

INFO OCT-01 AF-04 EUR-08 NEA-07 IO-06 ISO-00 SS-07
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P R 150600Z NOV 77
FM AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 9301
INFO AMEMBASSY AMMAN
AMEMBASSY CAIRO
AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS
AMEMBASSY JIDDA
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA
AMEMBASSY TEHRAN
AMCONSUL JERUSALEM
USMISSION USUN NY
USMISSION SINAI

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 TEL AVIV 9234

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS:IS, OREP (PRICE, MELVIN)
SUBJECT: CODEL PRICE MEET DAYAN

1. SUMMARY: DURING THEIR MEETING NOVEMBER 10, DAYAN TOLD
CODEL PRICE THAT ISRAEL WOULD ADHERE TO THE SECURITY
COUNCIL EMBARGO ON MILITARY SUPPLIES TO SOUTH AFRICA
AFTER CLARIFYING ITS MEANING IN REGARD TO "REVIEW OF
EXISTING CONTRACTS." DAYAN OPPOSED (ISRAELI) DEMILI-
TARIZATION OF THE WEST BANK AND/OR SHARED ISRAELI-
JORDANIAN SOVEREIGNTY THERE, SUGGESTING INSTEAD AN
AGREEMENT ON SOME KIND OF CIVILIAN ADMINISTRATION WITH
FREE ACCESS TO AND FROM JORDAN AND THE WEST BANK.
DAYAN ALSO EXPRESSED DOUBT THAT EGYPT WOULD MAKE A
SEPARATE PEACE WITH ISRAEL. HE SAID THAT WHILE
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ISRAEL INTENDED ITS CIVILIAN SETTLEMENTS IN THE
TERRITORIES TO BE PERMANENT, THOSE SETTLEMENTS WOULD
NOT DETERMINE FUTURE LINES BETWEEN ISRAEL AND ITS
ARAB NEIGHBORS. DAYAN REJECTED ANY POSSIBILITY THAT
ISRAEL WOULD RELY ON A POLICY OF NUCLEAR DETERRENCE,
AND HE SCORED THE US/USSR JOINT STATEMENT ON THE MIDDLE
EAST. FOLLOWING ARE EXCERPTS FROM DAYAN REMARKS ON

SUBJECTS OF TOPICAL INTEREST. END SUMMARY.

2. SOUTH AFRICA. DAYAN STATED THAT ISRAEL IS PREPARED TO GO ALONG WITH THE SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION IMPOSING A MILITARY EMBARGO ON SOUTH AFRICA, BUT "FIRST WE MUST CLARIFY WHAT IT MEANS, FOR EXAMPLE, REGARDING THE REVIEW OF EXISTING CONTRACTS." ASKED WHETHER ISRAEL MIGHT FOLLOW THE EXAMPLE OF FRANCE, WHO HAD DECIDED NOT TO TRANSFER SHIPS THAT HAD ALREADY BEEN ON ORDER, DAYAN RESPONDED THAT "WE ADMIRE THE FACT (OF THE FRENCH ACTION) BUT FRANCE IS NOT OUR MODEL, FOR MANY REASONS. WE WILL FOLLOW THE UNITED STATES." PRESSED TO COMMENT ON THE VIOLENCE, OPPRESSION AND INDIGNITY CAUSED BY THE SOUTH AFRICAN REGIME TO THE SPIRIT OF HUMAN FREEDOM AND JUSTICE, AND TO COMMENT ON A TOTAL EMBARGO OF SOUTH AFRICA, DAYAN PARTLY RESPONDED THAT JEWS ARE PERSECUTED IN RUSSIA, BUT THE UNITED STATES EMBARGOES NEITHER THE USSR NOR (EVEN) SOUTH AFRICA. ISRAEL, HE SAID, WILL ALWAYS FIGHT INEQUALITY AND MAINTAIN ITS OPPOSITION TO APARTHEID, BUT CONTINUE ITS RELATIONS WITH SOUTH AFRICA AS OTHER NATIONS WERE DOING AND AS IS ISRAEL'S RIGHT.

3. WEST BANK. ASKED ABOUT DEMILITARIZATION OF THE WEST BANK AND SHARED ISRAELI/JORDANIAN SOVEREIGNTY THERE, DAYAN INSISTED THAT ISRAEL MUST HAVE DEFENSIVE

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MILITARY INSTALLATIONS IN SOME PLACES ON THE WEST BANK AND SUGGESTED THAT THERE SHOULD BE NEITHER ISRAELI NOR JORDANIAN SOVEREIGNTY THERE, BUT AN AGREEMENT ON SOME KIND OF CIVILIAN ADMINISTRATION, WITH FREE ACCESS TO AND FROM JORDAN AND THE WEST BANK. JEWS MUST HAVE THE RIGHT TO BUY LAND IN THE WEST BANK AND TO SETTLE THERE, HE SAID. DAYAN SAID THAT ISRAEL WOULD REJECT AS INADEQUATE ANY PROPOSAL TO DEMILITARIZE THE WEST BANK. "ISRAEL CANNOT RELY ON EIGHT MILES OF WIDTH FOR ITS SECURITY."

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 TEL AVIV 9234

4. EGYPT/PEACE/GENEVA. REMARKING ON SADAT'S STATEMENT OF WILLINGNESS TO COME TO JERUSALEM FOR NEGOTIATIONS, DAYAN SAID HE DOUBTED THAT EGYPT WOULD MAKE PEACE WITH ISRAEL ("WITH OUR AMBASSADORS IN RESPECTIVE CAPITALS, ETC.") UNLESS OTHER ARAB STATES DID LIKEWISE. CASTING SADAT'S STATEMENT IN THE CONTEXT OF AN EGYPTIAN DILEMMA (EGYPT CANNOT MAKE PEACE ALONE, BUT IT DOES NOT WANT TO ACCEPT A SYRIAN DICTATE), DAYAN SAID THAT WHETHER THERE COULD BE A SUCCESSFUL GENEVA CONFERENCE WITHOUT SYRIA DEPENDED LARGELY ON THE UNITED STATES. IF THERE IS NO MOVEMENT AT ALL ON THE NEGOTIATING FRONT, DAYAN SAID, SOME ARAB COUNTRIES MAY TURN BACK TO WAR.

5. ISRAELI SETTLEMENTS. ASKED ABOUT THE PURPOSE OF
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ISRAELI SETTLEMENTS IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES, DAYAN STATED THAT THEY "DO CONTRIBUTE TO DEFENSE, BUT NOT ONLY THAT. AFTER THE KHARTOUM CONFERENCE (WHEN THE ARABS ADOPTED THE POSITION OF "NO PEACE, NO RECOGNITION AND NO NEGOTIATIONS" WITH ISRAEL) ISRAEL DECIDED NOT TO STAY IDLE BUT TO GO AHEAD AND SHAPE THE FUTURE BY SETTING UP PERMANENT CIVILIAN SETTLEMENTS IN THE CAPTURED TERRITORIES. WE PUT UP SETTLEMENTS WHERE WE ARE TO STAY-- AND MADE NO BONES ABOUT IT." ALL THE SAME, DAYAN SAID, THE SETTLEMENTS WILL NOT DECIDE THE (FUTURE) LINE BETWEEN ISRAEL AND ITS ARAB NEIGHBORS. "EITHER

THEY WILL BE REMOVED OR THERE WILL BE AN AGREEMENT TO ALLOW THEM TO STAY." (COMMENT: CLEARLY, ISRAEL WOULD INSIST THAT MOST SETTLEMENTS REMAIN.)

6. NUCLEAR DETERRENCE. DAYAN REITERATED ISRAEL'S POLICY THAT IT WILL NOT BE THE FIRST COUNTRY TO INTRODUCE NUCLEAR WEAPONS IN THE MIDDLE EAST, ADDING, "BUT IF SOMEONE ELSE DOES, WE DON'T WANT TO BE LATE, WE WOULD NOT LIKE TO BE THIRD." ASKED IF HE COULD ENVISION ANY CIRCUMSTANCES IN THE FUTURE (E.G., AN UNFAVORABLE SHIFT IN THE ISRAELI-ARAB BALANCE OF CONVENTIONAL FORCES) WHICH MIGHT CAUSE ISRAEL TO ADOPT A POLICY OF NUCLEAR DETERRENCE, DAYAN SAID NO AND RESTATED THE FORMULA THAT ISRAEL WILL NOT BE THE FIRST, ETC.

7. US/USSR JOINT ME STATEMENT. DAYAN STRONGLY REJECTED THE JOINT SUPERPOWER STATEMENT ON THE MIDDLE EAST, SAYING THE US SHOULD GO ON TRYING TO KEEP THE SOVIETS OUT. HE WAS NOT SURE THAT EVEN THE EGYPTIANS COULD WANT THEM BACK INTO THE GAME. THIS "UNACCEPTABLE COMPROMISE...DID NOT EVEN MENTION SC RESOLUTION 242."
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"IF YOU GO HALFWAY WITH THE SOVIETS, YOU ARE GOING MORE THAN HALFWAY AWAY FROM US."

8. COMMENT: AS HE OFTEN DOES WITH VISITING GROUPS, DAYAN SKIPPED ANY OPENING REMARKS AND IMMEDIATELY THREW THE FLOOR OPEN FOR QUESTIONS. HE ANSWERS WERE PLAINSPOKEN AND SOMETIMES BLUNT, FOR EXAMPLE, REGARDING THE QUESTIONS ON SOUTH AFRICA AND ON ISRAELI SETTLEMENTS.
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